"Which World Will You Choose?"

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Good afternoon, President Mills, Provost Chattin, students, alumni, and parents.

It is a special honor and privilege for me to be here with you today, to share in this day of consequence, and to wish the students graduating congratulations.

Graduating from college is an important milestone in anyone's life. It took abundant effort and considerable sacrifice to be sitting where you are right now. You should be proud of what you have achieved.

Your mark of academic accomplishment also bears witness to the contribution of a special community- your parents; earlier teachers who may have inspired you; professors who shared their knowledge; coaches who taught character as well as technique; alumni who sustain this society of scholarship; friends who listened and helped and were part of your family away from home.

St. Joseph's College is more than the Halleck Center or Schwietermann Hall. It is a compact of which all of you are a part.

A special word of thanks is due today to Dr. Mills, the steward of this college and community, with its compact for learning and service.

You are privileged to have this leader as your President. His commitment to the liberal arts education has enhanced your degree with a core of classic studies. An educated person has not just gained through information; he or she has mental ability and judgement, an ability to continue to learn all of one's life.

One of President Mills' sons works with me. His commitment to excellence and public service do honor to his parents. So we share in the St. Joseph's spirit.

<u>The Past as Prologue: Globalization Over the Century</u>
I suspect most of you are thinking about what you are going to do next.

For a moment, however, I would like to turn the clock back; in fact, in the spirit of the Core Program, let's step way back, to September 2, 1891, the day that St. Joseph's College first opened its doors.

Only about 63 million people lived in America back then. Thomas Edison had just filed the first patent for a motion picture camera. An office was opening on Ellis Island to help process the overwhelming number of immigrants arriving in search of a better life.

In a few weeks, a physical education instructor named James Naismith would invent a game called

basketball. He would use peach baskets donated by his school's janitor-hence the name "*basket* ball." Who knew that 111 years later, the Pumas would be mixing it up in the second division? Coach Carrillo, Coach Russell, if you are here, were you aware that your profession had such a humble origin?

When Americans surveyed the world 111 years ago, they observed changes that may seem strangely similar to the transformations of this era. It is now common for people to talk about an unprecedented age of globalization. Extraordinary it is, but unprecedented it is not. For the world of a century ago was characterized by dramatic changes in communications, transportation, and interaction among peoples, much like the world of today.

Indeed, five months before the Missionaries of the Precious Blood dedicated this ground to the cause of higher education, the first international phone call crackled through an undersea cable between London and Paris. Steamships had cut freight rates across the Atlantic by 95 percent over the prior 50 years. The Wright brothers' pioneering flight was only a decade away. And Henry Ford's Model T would begin rolling off his ingenious "assembly line," opening new vistas to millions of people.

And then there's my favorite invention of the era: safety razors with removable blades. No wonder so many men had beards in the 19th Century!

Those developments in transportation, communication, and business models, were nothing short of revolutionary. They demolished the natural geographic barriers to trade and capital flows.

At the same time, social movements and new ideas were changing lives and transforming societies. In 1896, the modern Olympics were born, bringing together athletes from around the world. The emancipation of women emerged as one of the great causes of the era, with the agitation of the Pankhurst sisters in England, with women gaining the right to vote in the United States, and with women entering German universities in 1909.

That powerful combination of new technologies and new ideas-combined with quickening economic openness-led to a world of seemingly infinite possibilities. John Maynard Keynes, the British economist, described it so:

> The inhabitant of London could order by telephone, sipping his morning tea in bed, the various products of the whole earth, in such quantity as he might see fit, and reasonably expect their early delivery upon his doorstep; he could at the same moment and by the same means adventure his wealth in the natural resources or even in terms of new enterprises of any quarter of the world, and share, without exertion or even trouble, in their prospective fruits and advantages. . . . Most important of all, he regarded this state of affairs as normal, certain, and permanent, except in the direction of further improvement.

The students at St. Joseph's almost a century ago might have sought out a book by Norman Angell titled *The Great Illusion*. It was a worldwide best seller, and Angell later won the Nobel Prize for Peace. Angell's popular book maintained that the new complex financial and commercial interdependence made war useless and unlikely in the modern era.

In 1899, the German biologist Ernst Haeckel published another bestselling book, *The Riddle of the Universe*, that maintained that the fantastic scientific innovations of the early 20th Century also made war impossible.

David Starr Jordan, the influential president of the recently endowed Stanford University, maintained that "the Great War of Europe, ever threatening…will never come." That was in 1913.

In June 1914, a terrorist's bullet in Sarajevo pushed Europe over the edge into a new dark age. The hopeful prospects of 100 years ago were overwhelmed by the dangerous ideas of the early 20th Century-imperialism, fascism, authoritarianism, communism, corporatism, protectionism, and isolationism.

We learned anew that ideas can lead to cruelties and tragedies: wars, depression, mass starvation, genocide, and economic disasters.

The First World War, the Depression, and then the Second World War, taught cruel lessons to those who believed that economic integration and technological innovation alone would insure peace and prosperity.

In effect, it took the second half of the 20th Century to recover the degree of economic openness that the world had lost in the first half of that century.

As Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan has pointed out, trade as a percentage of world economic production was roughly as high one hundred years ago as it is today. Net capital flows as a percentage of GDP among developed nations were higher at the beginning of the 20th Century than they were at the century's end.

Globalization Today: Your Future?

So now you are graduating at the start of a new century. Again, it is an age of great inventions-in communications, computing, biotechnology, miniaturization.

In less than a decade, the total world population living in market economies has increased from roughly one billion to five billion.

This is the world that you will help shape.

The pace of progress has been astonishing. The Apollo astronauts carried slide rules with them to the moon. Their spacecraft had less computing power than a modern pocket calculator. Today, a single laptop can crunch numbers faster than all of NASA's computers combined in the 1960s.

Let me share a personal insight about the pace of change you will experience.

When I started college in 1971 I had never been on an airplane-and air travel seemed prohibitively expensive to my family. Yet in the past four months, I have flown to Europe, Africa, Latin America, and East Asia…and of course Indiana.

When I studied German in high school in Naperville, Illinois, then a small town not too far from Rensselaer, German seemed like math: In other words, it was an intellectual discipline, but I could not comprehend how I would ever use it. I certainly could not contemplate travel to Germany. Yet in 1989, within 14 years of my college graduation, I was the lead U.S. official in the negotiation to unify East and West Germany after the Berlin Wall was breached. And I seemed to be in Germany every other week.

Although these experiences may be unusual, they are not unique. Globalization has been transforming Rensselaer while you have been studying. Chief Industries, whose building division is located right here, has divisions in the United Kingdom and France and does business around the globe. The Donaldson Company, a maker of filtration systems that runs a distribution center here, has international sales that accounted for 37 percent of revenues last year. And the many farmers in Jasper County sell their products to customers all over the world. Indiana's farms export about one-third of their crops.

People are crossing borders too, just as they did in the early 20th Century. During the course of the 1990s, America took in more than nine million legal immigrants-slightly surpassing the 1900 to 1910 total for the first time.

As these trends make clear, the second modern age of globalization has arrived. But is it "normal, certain, and permanent" as Keynes mistakenly believed the first age of globalization to be?

The answer to that question is ultimately up to you.

As the history of the 20th Century revealed, a peaceful world united by trade is a choice, not an inevitability. If we seek a world of freedom and prosperity, we-each of you-has to make it happen.

America is now in the midst of a great debate about globalization.

Trade and foreign investment have been an integral part of the world's extraordinary economic progress since the end of World War II, but we take the benefits of openness for granted at our peril.

Why? Because trade and openness create change, and change breeds anxiety. You can see that unease reflected in public opinion polls about free trade and globalization.

I have always believed that America's greatest strength is its openness-to people, goods, capital, and ideas. Openness keeps us fresh and dynamic. It forces us to challenge our thinking. It helps America continually revitalize itself and it safeguards our liberty.

A little over a decade ago, when I served President Bush's father as an Undersecretary at the State Department, I had the privilege of representing America when the empire of the old Soviet Union collapsed. I saw what closed political and economic systems had done to societies, the environment, and the spark of individual creativity. And I saw the magnetic power of openness and liberty to people around the world-whatever their culture, race, creed, or color.

Erecting new barriers and closing borders will not advance the plight of the railway orphans I visited last year in India. It will not liberate the persecuted Christians whose church I attended in China. It will not save the rainforests of Brazil or reverse the spread of AIDS that I saw in Botswana.

People thrive on fairness, opportunity, and freedom. When given the chance, the human spirit rises to meet the challenge of individual liberty.

In February, I visited an apparel factory in South Africa run by a company called Traclo, which employs about 1,200 people who make clothes for The Limited and other clothing stores. Arriving at the factory, we were greeted enthusiastically by about 40 Traclo employees, from tribes all over Southern Africa. They had volunteered to meet us, and dress in native attire, to sing thanks to America

for the opportunity to sell us quality goods at lower prices.

One man told me what this meant to him and his colleagues. Most of his co-workers were women, he said, and they were the sole providers for extended families with 10, 12, or more members. Not only did Traclo allow them to earn a living year-round-a first, for many of them-but it even provided medical services. He admitted that they did not know exactly who I was, but they knew that I was there to try to break down the barriers to trade, enabling them to build better lives.

Your generation will help determine whether America continues to expand the blessings of liberty and opportunity and hope to others. Although the zone of freedom in the world has greatly expanded, it could expand even more. Although trade and economic growth have helped liberate hundreds of millions of people, it could liberate even more. Half the world's 6 billion people have yet to place their first phone call. Two-thirds of them still survive by tilling the soil. 2.8 billion live on less than two dollars per day. For far too many people, the opportunities of globalization remain beyond reach.

America: "A Divine True Sketch"

I certainly appreciate that most of your time in the months and years ahead will be spent building careers, perhaps adding to your education, maybe starting families, and, I hope, contributing to your communities, whether they be communities of place or shared interest. As Thomas Jefferson wrote 226 years ago on behalf of all Americans-including future generations-these are the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Yet as you enjoy these rights, I hope that you also keep in mind your incredible good fortune-and the responsibility that runs with these rights.

We live in the wealthiest and most powerful country in the history of humankind. America projects not only the hard power of military force and the dynamic power of economic energy, but also the soft power of our culture, our values, our example.

This gift is an inheritance from the Americans who came before. Like all treasured gifts, it must be cherished to be preserved.

I suspect most of you can recognize a dollar bill at a glance, but you probably have not spent much time looking at it closely. Right now you graduates may have a hard time reaching wallets or purses to examine the dollar bill-if you still have one-but when you next get an opportunity, look at the design on the back.

That picture of the unfinished, thirteen-tiered pyramid resting beneath the Eye of Providence, radiating light, is the reverse of the Great Seal of the United States.

The Continental Congress set up a committee to create the Great Seal on the day our nation was born: July 4, 1776. But the first version was not approved until June 1782-longer than it took to win the Revolutionary War. The Latin text that frames the pyramid comes from the Roman poet Virgil. Above the eye, it reads "Annuit Coeptis," or "He has favored our undertaking." On the bottom, it says, "Novus Ordo Seclorum": "A New Order of the Ages."

According to Charles Thompson, Secretary of the Continental Congress and a principal architect of the Seal, this motto signifies "the beginning of the new American Era."

As one of my college history professors wrote years ago, much of American history is implicit in the question of whether Thompson meant the adjective "American" to be construed as geographically limiting or as broadly descriptive of this new Era: Is the new era only for the United States or were the Founding Fathers, in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, suggesting that the destiny of America is to lead the world to a future of individual liberty, democratic states, open commerce, and scientific progress?

You and your classmates at other colleges around America will need to answer this question for your generation. Just as the pyramid on the Seal is unfinished, so each generation of Americans must add its construction to the "New Order of the Ages."

The founders didn't comment on why they designed an unfinished pyramid, but the poet Walt Whitman interpreted it this way:

> The architects of these States laid their foundations, and passed to further, spheres. . . Now are needed other architects, whose duty is not less difficult, but perhaps more difficult. Each age forever needs architects. America is not finished, perhaps never will be; now America is a divine true sketch.

Freedom's Foes

On September 11 of last year, we saw, through tears, that others in the world hate America's "divine true sketch." Where the United States has stood for openness and tolerance, others madly pursue closed societies and intolerance. Where America promotes creation, others crave destruction. Where Americans live with the power of hope, others want to die in despair.

Freedom and openness have always drawn opposition. During the first modern era of globalization, there was a reaction from anarchists who spawned terrorists. Their tool was political assassination, and they killed leaders all over Eurasia and North America.

Today, technology empowers terrorists to kill on a much larger scale. The September 11 terrorists chose the World Trade Center for a reason. The late Minoru Yamasaki, architect of the towers, once remarked that his creation "should ... because of its importance, become a living representation of man's belief in humanity, his need for individual dignity, his belief in the cooperation of men, and through this cooperation his ability to find greatness."

Since that terrible day, the relationship between America's economic engagement with the world and our national security has sharpened. We live in a dangerous world.

The American Era that will be your charge to advance must face this challenge. Yet the past experience of the United States might offer you some guidance. For the first time in history, a great power has been more concerned with uplifting other nations than conquering them. Those values, that strategy-creating a widening of the circle of affluence-remains the key to our security.

Conclusion

In his inaugural address last year, President Mills wisely noted, "In the rush of life, things do not stand still. There is a constant need for renewal of all institutions-however strong, however relevant, however sincere."

Of course, he was talking about St. Joseph's. But those words are equally true of this American nation.

Forty-one years ago this very day, Alan Shepard became the first American in space. He was an explorer embarking on a journey into the unknown. And the ship that carried him was called "Freedom."

By the time I attended college, America was bogged down in a losing war in Vietnam. The United States faced oil crises and stagflation that signaled to some that America's economic dynamism had run its course.

Yet in my 30's, I witnessed the destruction of the Soviet Union and its empire, a 70-year long testament to man's capacity for evil.

I saw America regain its economic ingenuity, productivity, and entrepreneurial faith in itself.

So I share this modest lesson with you, in the hope it might be of some help at a point in your life: The human spirit is indomitable. Each individual, instilled with the spirit of Providence, matters. And free men and women can move the world.

Therefore, your choices do matter. Your ideas can have influence. Your actions will affect others. And given your fortune of living in this time and place, your contributions are of special moment: Because the future of this American Era will be up to you.

Godspeed and Best Wishes.
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